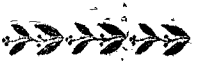
ALLAH-O-AKBAR.

"He who ruleth high and wise,
Nor falters in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies,
Ere freedom out of Man."

A STORY OF

THE SUFFERINGS OF SIND.

A case for the Separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency)



By MOHAMED AYOOB S. KHUHRO K.B., M.L.C.,
of Larkana Sind, (India).

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A STORY OF

THE SUFFERINGS OF SIND

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INTRODUCTION.

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The Bombay Presidency has swallowed Sind since 83 years. It had nearly digested Sind when the inhabitants of the latter revolted and decided not to allow the Presidency to annihilate their motherland. Sind has been ruined, beyond the least shadow of doubt, on account of its unnatural and compulsory annextion to Bombay Presidency. If Sind is not separated soon it will be ruined in all spheres of life.

It is therefore a paramount duty of all true sons of the soil of Sind to make every sacrifice to liberate their motherland from the bondage to which it has been forcibly subjected, and remove the disadvantages in which it has thus been placed. This is, however, not the time when a country, to achieve its goal, should resort to any other force but that of appeal, reason and argument. We can not wage war with the Bombay presidency and be up in arms against it. Those old days have gone when the solution of every difficulty lied in the invincible bullet of the 'muzzle-loading' gun or in the sharp edge of sword. We cannot achieve freedom from the yoke of the Presidency, which though obviously strange and alien to us, by taking to any questionable or unconstitutional method, however disgusted we may be with it. Nevertheless, it is a plain truth that the cup of our sufferings has come to a brim, and the sooner the provincial independence is restored to us the better. To achieve this pious object the country stands in need of every kind of sacrifice on the part of its sons. It is human nature that when a man is resolutely determined to attain a certain object, nothing under the sky can come in his way. He will

undoubtedly be confronted by all kinds of trials and tribulations but if his purpose is pious and his intentions are honest, he shall tide over all the troubles and eventually meet with a success. God helps those who help themselves. When we clamour for freedom, the deprival of which has undermined the great significance of this province and has ruined its people in all walks of life, we are not actuated by any base motive. Sind has enjoyed provincial independence in the past and it is fully entitled to have it even now. It is birth right of Sindhis to be free from the bondage of the Bombay Presidency. And to serve my mother land in this noble cause, I have pledged to do all that lies in my humble capacity.

II

Those, who are benefitted by the injustice which has been prepetrated upon Sind, have offered a challenge that the people of Sind should come forward with a case for the separation, in which solution of the various difficulties, which stand in the way of separation, should be suggested. To meet with that challenge and to impress upon the British Government the reasonibility of our demand, I produce this booklet which is devoted to the discussion of various aspects of the problem of the separation. I have no hesitation in admitting that this is not a complete bookon the subject, and there is still much to be said in support of the separation, yet I have embodied in thir book what has occured to me in the first attempt and it will be supplemented and substantiated from time to time as the matter progresses.

In conclusion, I would make it clear to those in whose hands lies the power to concede our demand, that Sind is determined to achieve separation now. Its claim is quite reasonable and must be carefully considered. The separation is a question of life and death to Sind. It can not be indifferent to it any further. If a partner declines to be in the concern how long can he be compelled to remain so? I appeal to British Government, and the British Parliament in whose hands are lying the destinies of Indians and Sindhians, in the name of justice and fairness to break the fetters which have deprived Sind of its freedom, since nearly a century.

Larkana,
26-5-30.

M. A. KHUHRO.

SIND-A SEPARATE PROVINCE.

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(Historical Evidence) .

SIND: A SEPARATE PROVINCE
Historical Evidence.

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(1) So far as history is able to show, Sind has all along remained a separate province under a Rajah of its own. In cases when it formed a part of some Foreign Kingdom, Sind enjoyed full provincial autonomy, and the Governor of Sind used to be a separate one with his Head Quarter at Alore, Brahmanabad, Mansura, Siwastan, Nirinkot, Tatta, or Shikarpur.

(2) Despite the fact that nothing is known as to what transpired in Sind in the gap wich exists between the advent of Alexander the Great & the assumption of kingdom by Rai Dynasty, yet the fact that Sind had always remained a separate Province has never been challenged. The narrative of Alexander's voyage through Indus has been published in the shape of a book, compiled by the Commander of the Alexandarian fleet. The account given by the author distinctly shows that even at that time Sind was an independent province free from the yoke of Governor of any other province. This bears very strong testimony in support of my contention.

(3) The celeberated Arab Geographer Abul Kassim "Ibn Khurdadba ,, who attained high office under the Islaamic Caliphs of Mecca was employed to carry on topographical and geographical researches in Asiatic Countries. In his book

" Kitabul Masalik wal Mamalik „ (Book of Roads and Kingdom) he describes the Geographical position of Sind as follows:—

" Boundary betwean Persia and Sind is situated at Narmasira (Nurmanshur vide sprengers routes) which is at eight journeys distance. Sind has no resemblence with the other countries situated on the north or south of it. The Kingdom of Sind consists of the following provinces:–

Kirbun (A Large town in Mekran) Makran' Kandahar, Kasran (a City in Sind) Nukan (a town of Tus near Nishapur) Kandabil, Arambil (These two towns are now within the state of Kashmir) Kinnazbun, Kanbali, Sabhan, Sadusan, Debal , Rasak, Alor, Vandan, Multan, Sindan, Mandal, Salman, Sairast Karaj, Rumla, Kuli, Kanaoj, and Broach. All these COUNTRIES WERE GOVERNED BY A HAKIM WHO HAD HIS (SADAR MAQAM) HEAD QUARTER IN DEBAL, & ALORE„

This historical evidence conclusively proves that the vast tract of land lying between Broach on the south, Kandabil (Kashmere) on the east and Narmasira (Persia) on the north was under the rule of one man who had his headquarter in Debal. The singnificance which Sind enjoyed at that time can therefore better be imagined than described. (The author of the book quoted above died in 300H. D. (912 A. D.) and naturally therefore his book must have been written earlier than that. And so the evidence furnished by one thousand years old book deserves great weight.)

(4) Following remarks from Almasudi's "Murujul Zahab,, are reproduced in support of my contention:—

"From time immemorial Sind has remained under a chief of its own.,,

Indescribing the geography of India the ancient Historians and Geographers have always excluded Sind from India and have referred to India and Sind separately, as will be seen from the following remarks of Al-Masudi:—

" India extends to the Side of mountains to Khorasan, on the side of sea to Multan where the boundary of the Kingdom of Sind is situated. ..... " There Prevails a great difference ,, adds Almasudi " Of language and religion in these kingdoms and they are frequently at war with each other.,, ... " Balhara is the King of Kanauj who is one of the Kings of Sind.,, ... " King of Kashmir has the name of Rai which is a general title of all the Kings. Kashmir forms part of Sind.,, ... "Language of Sind,, concludes Almasudi:- "Is different from that of India.,,..... ....."Sind is the Country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslems. India is farther from them.,,

The geographer whose remarks I have quoted above enjoyed a great reputation for his correct survey of the geographical position of the countries in which he travelled. His book " Marujal Zahab ,, The "Meadows of gold,, describes the state of the countries, as they were in his age i.e 330 (1332A.H.), Almasudi became, through this work of his ; the prototype of

all historians to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts which form the subject of their labours. His book, referred to above, is old by one thousand years.

(5) Sheikh Abu Ishak who received the cognomen of "*Istakhri*,, from his native city of Istakhr or Persepolis travelled through all the Mohomedan countries, from India to the Atlantic ocean. He has also described the boundaries of the kingdom of Sind in his book "Kitabul Aklim,, in a manner which proves that Sind even 1000 years ago, when the author of the book visited India, stood aloof from the rest of India. He has given a map containing the country of Sind and the bordering lands. He states that "from Saimur to Fambul, in Hind from Fambul to Makran, and beyond that as far as the bounderies of Multan all belong to Sind.,, "Sind" concludes the learned author of the "Kitabul Aklim " stands by itself ,,

(6) In one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow, there is a very old Arabic Manuscript written A. H. 589 (1193 A. D.) entitled " Ashkalul Bilad ,, in which diagram of the country of Islam is given in the postscript. It containns maps and geographical description of several countries including Sind. This map has subsequently been reproduced in the 1st part of Sir H. Elliot's history of India. In the original book the author states " I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map which exhibits the entire country of Sind. On the entire east of this tract there lies sea of " Fars ,,

tries subjected to it; to the north, the countries of Hind (India.)"

7. Subsequently about 400 years after the compilation of the historical books, cited in the preceding paragraphs, one Rashiduldin wrote down a book on India & Sind entitled the "JAMIUT-TAWARIKH" in which he describing the boundaries of Hind (India), has alluded to Sind as a separate country. To quote the author's own words, "Hind is surrounded on the east by Cheen & Machin, on the west by the country of Sind, and on the south by the sea. "

8. All-Idrisi in his book " Nuzharul Mushtak " which is devoted to the description of the countries of Sind & India has stated that " Sind has got a Government of its own. Mirman - name of a city - is one of the dependancies of (Kingdom) of Sind like Debal, Nirun etc. Mamhal is situated between Sind & India. "

A few pages down below the author has in the same book recognised, in more clear terms, the separate entity of Sind by stating:-

" There is no idol in
India or in Sind which
is more highly venerated "

9. By repeatedly referring to Sind and India separately, the author has shown that both these countries at that time stood aloof from each other.

10. " Chachnama " is a well-known historical book on Sind which has lately been translated into English by Mirza Kalichbeg.

The First page of the book describe the geography of Sind as follows :—

> " Chroniclers and Historians have related that the city of Alore (a town on the bank of Indus, six Miles beyond Sukkur) the capital of Hind and Sind was a large city adorned with all Kinds of palaces & villas, Gardens & grooves, reservoirs and Streams, Parterrs and flowers. This delightful city had a King whose name was Sahasirai. The boundaries of his dominions extended on the east to Kashmere and the west to Makran, on the south to the shores of the ocean and Debal, and on the North to the Mountains of ' Kardan ,,

This manifests the great importance which Sind enjoyed at the time of the " Rai Dynasty " so much so that according to Chachnama, Sind was the Capital of Hind (India) - the vast tract situated within the boundaries described above.

The account given in the Chachnama demonstrates the great power which the kings of Sind wielded.

11. "Tawarikh Masumi" (History of Sind,) gives an account of the kingdom of Sind and its ruling dynasties from the period of Raja Dahar and the conquest of Sind by Arabs down to its incorporation into the Moghal Empire at the time of Akbar. During the whole period covered by this book Sind has remained under separate Rulers with their Head-Quarters at Alore, Brahmanabad, Siwastan, and Thatta.

In the pre-Islamic period the Kings of Sind ruled over the whole of country which is now called "Northern India"-Punjab North-West Frontier, Baluchistan & Kashmir. Even after the conquest of Sind by Arabs, it has remained under separate Governors.

Nowhere in this exhaustive history, is shown that Sind has ever been absorbed by any other province.

12. So long as Sind was under the rule of the Ommayad and Abbasi Caliphs of Islam, it remained under a separate Moslem Governor and never for a moment was it amalgamated with any other Province.

13. When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni captured the fort of Multan and brought the country of Sind under his authority, he sent his officers to be Governors of Sind, with their head quarter in Sind.

14. After Mahmud's death the "Government of Sind" (to use the words of "Tarikh-Masumi") devolved upon Abdul Rashid Sulatan-Masud. He was the ruler of Sind, till SUMRAS raised a man of their own tribe to the throne, and threw off the yoke of Masud's obedience. For the interval which existed between Mahmud's rule and the assumption of the throne of Sind by Sumras, Sind had a separate ruler.

15. The SUMRAS were independent "Kings of Sind" and so the kingdom of Sind remained intact for the long time that they ruled.

16. SUMRAS were succeeded by Summas who too continued to be independent Rulers of the country of Sind.

17. After the authority of Summas was overthrown by the Arghuns, who invaded Sind in 616 A. H., the kingdom of this province remained as it was in the days of Sumras.

18. When the country of Sind passed into the hands of the Emperor Akbar (Who was born in Sind) he kept a separate Governor, and for all the time that Sind remained a part of Moghul Empire, it continued to have a Governor of its own.

19. Besides, Sind was ruled by Kalhoras and Talpurs whose capital was in Sind, and so until British conquered it, this country enjoyed a separate Government whether under a Rajah or a Governor of its own.

20. Even after the conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier, it remained a separate province, and Sir Charles

was the first English Governor of this country. So long as Sir Charles held the Governorship of Sind, it continued to remain so, and after he relinquished the charge, Sind was all of a sudden, without consulting the public opinion, annexed to the Bombay Presidency.

21. The proof of the fact that Sind was a very important and a highly civilised country even 5000 years ago, is furnished by the recent discoveries made by the Indian Archeological Department at Mohan-jo-Daro (Sind). A country so advanced and so civilised could never have laboured under the yoke of a Governor who may have remained 800 miles away from it, as it is today. And had it been so, Sind would never have prospered and advanced to that extent.

22. In the preceding paragraphs, I have briefily traced the history of Sind from 5000 years back down upto the British conquest and the Governorship of Sir Charles Napier. During this whole period, the historical record shows that Sind has never been unsurped by any other province and it is really inconceivable how British Government has deemed it right to allow the Bombay Presidency to swallow Sind.

II.

A CONTRAST

A CONTRAST.

1. Even the worst opponents of the separation will have no hesitation in admitting that Sind has absolutely nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. The union of Sind with Bombay has served to destroy the traditions, and culture of Sind. In this chapter I will try te place before the readers the great anamoly and difference that exists between these two provinces which will automatically prove that Sind is actually rotting on account of its having been fortuitously wedded to the Bombay Presidency without a valid consent.

Geographic and Climatic difference.

2. In the previous chapter, I have adduced sufficient evidence to prove that Sind is quite distinct from Bombay Presidency from historical viewpoint. Geographically, Sind and Bombay Presidency are separated from each other by Rajputana and the State of Cutch. The distance between both these component parts is 800 miles. In the distribution of Provinces no such indifference from Geographical point of view has ever been shown as in the case of Sind. It is really inscrutable what prompted the Government to make this amalgamation.

Not only that but even climatically Sind is a contrast to the Bombay Presidency. In winter when in Sind men actually die due to abnormality of cold, people in Bombay feel it comfortable ta take night walks and change their warm suits for silk

ones. Likewise, in summer when the scorching heat of Sind makes one's blood boil, you have a very pleasant monsoon, rain and breeze in Bombay. In July and August when nights are absolutely hot and hellish in Sind and people are actually expiring on account malaria and other contagious deseases, you at Bombay and Poona feel as if you are in heaven.

AGRICULTURE.

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3, Agriculturally, Sind has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. The whole system of agriculture is different. A Bulletin has been published by Dr. Horold H. Mann Director of Agriculture, entitled "**The Crops of Sind**". The whole book is devoted to the information regarding the agriculture of Sind. This report con- tains a passage which I quote below :—

> "*Cut off from the rest of the Bombay Presidency by the desert or by the sea, Sind differs widely from it in physical features and climate, as well as in language, dress, and customs of the people.*"

In Sind it is the great river Indus which floods and fertiles the plain of Sind, whereas in Bombay the irrigation is made by rains. Those who are in Bombay Presidency can not at all understand the agricultural, and irrigation problems of Sind, on account of the vast difference between the agricultural and irrigation systems of Sind and theBombay Presidency proper.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCE.

4. Sind is a distinct province, in life, habits and dress. In the preceding paragraph I have reproduced a passage from Dr. Mann's book which bears testimony to it. Even otherwise it is an open secret that the Sindhi life differs widely from that of the people of the Presidency.

Mr. Sayed Miran Mahomed Shah was quite right when he, in his Note on the Sind separation remarked that :—

> *" The mode of life, dress and habits of the people are entirely different to those of the presidency. They are more akin to Baluchistan and Punjab than to Presidency."*

5. The Royal Statutory Commission, ordinarily known as the Simon Commission, has recognized the fact that Sind differs very much from the Bombay Presidency or, according to the Commission, from the whole of India in life and habits, although they have put it in the following language :—

> *" In its life and civilization Sind is most closely allied to Iraq or Arabia than to India ".*

Whether in civilization it, as remarked by the Commission, is allied to Iraq Arabia, or, as opined by Mr. Miran Mahomed Shah, its life is more akin to Baluchistan, none says that so far as these things are concerned it has any resemblence with the Bombay Presidency.

6. So far as dress is concerned, Sindhis clothe themselves in a way which is distinctly different from that in other parts

of the Presidency. I would appeal te the readers who have never had the occasion to see Sind personally not to form a wrong opinion by seeing Sindhis and Presidency people both clad alike in the European dress. The Western cap fits every-one and it does not in any way vitiate the difference which in fact exists between the genuine dress of Sindhis and the Presidency wallahs.

Sindhis put on a large turban, a long shirt and a loose trouser of a particular style, whereas those who are in Maharashtra—the heart of the Presidency—go bare-footed. In place of trouser they put on a piece of cloth,

LINGUISTIC REASON.

7. The Province of Sind has got a different language called "*Sindhi*", which is not spoken in any part of the Presidency. In the whole area of 52,994 square miles, the entire population of 3,472,529 persons, inclusive the State of Khairpur which encloses an area of 6,050 square miles and a population of 193,152 this language is spoken. Its alphabets are different, and it possesses a vast treasure of literature. The Sindhi poetry, and particularly the poetical works of Shah Abdul Latif are very well-known.

8. In 1920, the Indian National Congress had distributed the Provinces of the British India on linguistic basis. Ever since, Sind has been sending its delegates as separate from the Presidency of Bombay.

9. It may be alleged that Sindhi is not spoken throughout Sind, because in Upper Sind Frontier Baluchis speak Baluchi language. In Ubauro Division of the Sukkur District Jatki and Seraiki are the common languages. These objections are absolutely fallacious. Jatki and Baluchi, Seraiki and such other languages are not languages in the proper sense of the word. Firstly they are spoken by the people belonging to a particular tribe only and more over there is no literature, or script, in these languages Secondly, this language has been moulded by corrupting different languages and mixing them up together. For instance, Saraiki is spoken by those who are within the first few miles of the border of Sind and Punjab. As they have no schools to impart education in any language in a right and perfect manner, they have mixed Sindhi and Punjabi together and to it they have given the name of "*Seraiki*". Baluchi is a mixture of Persian and Sindhi and is spoken, though rarely, in the few frontier talukas of the Jacobabad District, although those very people who speak 'Baluchi' are transacting their business, carrying on correspondence in the common Sindhi language. Particularly, when there is no script in these languages, it is very difficult to place them in line with Sindh in the order of importance.

10. Apart from this, Sindhi is the Court language and the entire Government business is transacted in it. In Civil and Criminal Courts the record of Judicial enquiries is maintained in Sindhi and it is in this language that the depositions are taken down All kinds of decrees, orders, parwanas, and process are issued in Sindhi language.

11. There is quite a large number of Sindhi newspapers which maintain a high standard of journalism and are reputed for their excellent literary qualities.

12. The importance of this language will be evident from the fact that in Sind the education is imparted in the 'Sindhi' language. And there is a separate Sindhi text Committee on the Senate of the Bombay University.

13. **The Printing**—Type founderies are manufacturing "*Sindhi Type*" for printing purpose, and the best Sindhi type is produced in England and Germany and its consumption is also very large.

14. In the light of all these cogent reasons I am sure there can be no two opinions about the correctness of the view that Sindhi is an important language; it is universally spoken in the length and breadth of the province; and the importance which this language enjoys calls for immediate separation of the province in which it is spoken, from a Presidency which is alien to it linguistically and has become an stumbling block in the development of our language.

DIFFERENT SYSTEM OF LAND. REVENUE AND IRRIGATION

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15. The difference which exists between Sind and the Bombay Presidency proper, from the above viewpoint, has already been manifested. The experience shows that the Members of the Bombay Legislative Council, in whose hands

are lying the destinies of Sind, are not able to understand the problems of Sind, as they belong to a different country and know nothing about the local conditions, local systems of Land Revenue & Irrigation, and the local customs, usages, and feelings and aspirations of the Sindhis.

16. Government had recognized this difficulty a long time ago, when they sent the whole of the Bombay Legislative Council to Sind to see for itself and get first hand information about, the Sukkur Barrage works.

17. It is quite natural that the Presidency members of the Legislative Council, for instance those gentlemen who come from Sholapur, a distance of about eleven hundred miles from Sind would not show any sympathy to Sind because they know nothing about this step-child of this Presidency.

18. Mr. Miran Mahomed Shah Member Legislative Council is quite right when he complains that:-

> *"The grievances of the people of Sind in connection with the land Revenue and irrigation matters do not invoke any sympathy in the minds of the Non-Sindhi Members who are in majority in the Council",*

19. Mr. P. R. Cadell, the late Commissioner in Sind, who occupied the Commissionership for a long time and had gained sufficient experience about Sind has given vent to his opinion on this subject in the following words:-

> *"Any correspondence on education, Engineering, and such other subjects takes a very long time before it is finally despatched,"*

III.

DIFFICULTIES AND DISADVANTAGES

DIFFICULTIES AND DISADVANTAGES.

—:o:—

Distance.

1. Sind is at a distance of about eight hundred miles from the capital of Presidency, and is geographically separated completely from the Presidency by a wedge of Non-British territory—namely the States of Cutch and Rajputana. The distance which prevails between Sind and the "Presidency proper" has greatly hampered the progress of Sind—which has been receiving step-motherly treatment from the Bombay Presidency. Following reasons must be chiefly mentioned:—

(a) That the Heads of all Departments are residing eight hundred miles away, and are consequently unable to get first hand knowledge about Sind. They are ignorant of the local conditions of Sind. It may be contended that they are paying visits to Sind, but the fact is that Sind can not be benefitted by the flying visits of the Bombay Heads of the Departments and the Members of the Government, who come in Sind for a week only in the whole of year. These seven eight days are also spent in District Head Quarter towns and in giving interviews to officials. It is a plain truth that Sind cannot derive any advantage from such tours which though very costly yet do no material good to Sind.

(b) The various important problems cannot invoke sympathy of Officials who are ignorant of the local conditions; who are beyond the reach of people, and who are sitting in Bombay far away from Sind.

(c) On account of this distance there occurs incalculable inconvenience and inexcusable delay in the decision of every matter. It takes four days by land or sea to reach the Capital if fast Railway Service or Mail Boat is engaged. The insurmountable difficulty under which the country is labouring is that matters of very urgent nature are not decided so soon as they should have been.

It will be worth while quoting the opinion of an experienced Commissioner of this Province—Mr, P. R. Cadell C.S.I., I.C.S. on this point. He, in his speech on the eve of the Sind dinner, is reported to have said:-

> "*The work is more and more being done through a Government which however friendly, is situated several hundred miles away. Any correspondence on education, engineering and such other subjects takes a very long time before it is finally disposed of. The departments which deeply effect the trade of Sind, such as the railways, the contract of the Port, the customs, and the salt department are now administrated by the Government of India. Possibly a more direct approach to that Government than through a distant local Government would be desirable.*

This view of Mr. Cadell is endorsed by the Royal Indian Statutory Commission which has on page 58 in the 1st volume of its report, opined ;—

" The ordinary method by which, whether for the purposes of business or Government, one passes between Bombay and Karachi the Port of Sind is by sea. Railway communication involves a long detour, usually via Lahore".

A MENACE.

—:o:—

(2) The Commissioner in Sind Act, of 1868, has made the administration very autocratic and has invoked resentment in Hindu and Moslem public of Sind alike. It confers upon the Commissioner-in-Sind the powers of Local Government which is negation of the Montford scheme of Reforms. The people of this Province have been clamouring that the powers of the Commissioner in Sind under the said delegation Act should be withdrawn and he should be placed on the same footing with the Commissioners in the Presidency.

3. On the occasion of the visit of the Right Honourable Mr. Montague, a special session of the Sind Provincial Conference was held and a deputation was appointed to place before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montague a memorial in which, among other things relating to reform, it was strongly urged that all the extra powers conferred on the Commissioner in Sind should be withdrawn. This deputation was headed by the late Honourable Mr. Harchandrai. The very question had been taken up in the year 1920 by the late Honourble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri who had the support of all the educated Sind Hindus.

4. The representation which was made to the Right

Honourable Mr. Montague on behalf of the special Sind Provincial Conference runs as follows :—

"The Government of Sind has for the last seventy years been, in effect an unqualified autocracy, with all the disadvantages characteristic of that system. The Commissioner in Sind, deriving his numerous powers, partly, by the unconstitutional powers of successive inheritance from his ancient predecessor, Sir Charles Napier the First and last Governor of Sind, mainly, by by the frequent delegation to him of numerous powers of Local Government by the Governor of Bombay in Council, under the Commissioner in Sind's act V of 1886, and recently by the specific reservation to him, in later acts, of powers else-where reserved to the Governor in Council, has to-day become, in most respects, a Local Government itself, without the check of an Executive Council".

"This concentration of exceedingly wide powers in the hands of one man, without the simultaneous replacement of control by the people for control from above, has naturally resulted in the creation of despotic administration in Sind. We feel that the vesting of practically the entire Government of a large sub province in the hands of a single individual leads to the operation of personal opinion and predilections, and fluctuation in policy, involves the risk of the misuse of powers and militates against the processive liberalization of the administration. This effect is felt not only in the depart-

ments in which he has practically final control, but even on those matters, in which, while, technically, he possesses no greater powers than the Ordinary Divisional Commissioner, he yet has a greater voice and influence". "We also feel convinced, that by the present arrangement Sind is being practically denied the benefits of Government by the Governor in Council. Questions which, in the case of other divisions of the Presidency, after passing through the hands of the Divisional Commissioners, undergo elaborate criticism in the Bombay Secretariat, pass the close scrutiny of one of the Members of the Executive Council who is conscious of his responsibility as a member of Government and which, sometimes, ever run the gauntlet of a debate in the Executive Council itself, are, in the case of Sind, disposed of practically finally, by the Commissioner in Sind, whose decisions are uninfluenced not only by the restraint due to the existence of a higher body with revisional powers, but also by the pressure of public opinion in the province".

"Further, unlike the other divisions of the Bombay Presidency, Sind not being under the direct administration of the Government of Bombay, is deprived of the benefits of the statesmanship, liberality, sympathy and broad outlook of a man trained in the public life of England and the open mindedness and freshness of view of a new comer to India The administration of those, who, as in Commissioner in Sind, hold sway over the affairs of

this Province, is on the other hand, characterized by the irresponsible and bureaucratic spirit with which their long official career imbuses them. Sind also keenly feels the degradation of her position in being ruled by a Civilian Commissioner, whereas the other divisions are directly under the Governor of Bombay in council."

"To take another instance, the control, at present exercised by the Commissioner in Sind over the Judicial Administration of the Province, not only by the power of appointing Subordinate Judge, but also by various other powers under the Sind Courts Act XIV and of other enactments, reduce the status of the Judicial Commissioner's Court and weakens its independence."

"The Revenue administration of the Province, almost exclusively under the final control of the Commissioner in Sind, has for years been regarded by people as almost illiberal and is carried on in disregard of the existing rights of the Zamindars. The land revenue code of 1879 has, in Sind, been modified by the 'special circulars' issued by the Commissioner in Sind. The remision rules framed by him are in conflict with the principles laid down by Lord Curzon in his famous resolution on the subject and ignore the higher cost of cultivation and clearance in Sind."

"What your memorialists regard as an aggravation of the whole case, is the absence of any attempt to differentiate between the delegation of criminal and revenue powers;

and, in holding the view, that anything which affects the life and liberty of the people should not be the subject of delegation by executive order. Your memorialists are supported by competent official evidence tendered before the Royal Commission upon decentralization in India. Extensive powers of Local Government have been conferred on a single irresponsible official in Sind both under the Criminal Procedure Code and the Bombay District Police Act of 1890."

"Withdrawing his own responsibility for the direct Administration of Sind, the Governor of Bombay in Council leaves it to the Commissioner in Sind to enquire into and satisfy the needs and requirements of the Province. These are but few of the many instances of the disadvantages suffered by the people of Sind as a result of the present irresponible system of Government prevailing in the province,"

(ends)

The Bombay Prrvincial Committee which colloborated with the Royal Statutory Commission has opined on this subject as under:-

"We are of opinion that the special powers which the Commissioner in Sind at present enjoys under the Commissioner in Sind's Act, 1868 should be done away with, and he should be placed in the same position as Divisional Commissioners in the rest of the Presidency".

Sind is labouring under the despotic rule of the Commissioner which has made every officer however small his position is very autocratic. The Legislative Council does not directly wield

any influence on the Government of Sind, because the questions asked in the Council take a considerably long time to be answered and are always non-committal and evasive.

POLICE TYRANNY

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The Police Tyranny in Sind is an admitted fact. The Sind Mahomedan Association had vehemently criticised it in the course of the address given to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in November 1929. The said address of the Association reads as follows:

> "And in dealing with the Police might we respectfully submit that corruption and tyranny among the police of this Province have increased beyond all bounds, and we feel it our duty to bring to Your Excellency's notice the stern fact that unless the drastic measures are taken to put a stop to it, the General Administration of the Province will be seriously hampered. The public of Sind are waiting to come forward to help by exposing flagrant instances of this, but they require a definite lead from the Government to show that there is a real desire and determination to put a stop to it".

Corruptions prevails extensively in Sind which is due to the fact that Sind is not directly under any Legislative Council through which the public may be able to remove this evil by putting interpellations and moving adjournment motions.

There is a great discontentment among people on this account, and the only remedy lies in the separation of Sind and placing it under a separate Legislative Council.

KARACHI PORT :

Difficulties in the development of.

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The development of the Port of Karachi has been greatly hampered on account of the Province being under a Government which has been giving step-motherly treatment to Sind. From geographical point of view the Port of Karachi enjoys great importance.

The Statesmen of Calcutta wrote, in 1857 :—

> "Kurrachee, situated in the mouth of Indus, is fast advancing in prosperity and into notice as a sea port. It will probably soon be known as the first in the Empire, *being superior to Calcutta, Madras, or even Bombay.* In a commodious harbour and safe anchorage, it will become a depot for the commerce (export and import) of all Northern India and Scinde with Europe."

The first European who visited Sind in the first decade of the nineteenth century—namely Sir Henry Pottingar has referred to Karachi as follows :—

> " Of the harbour of Karachi I have always had the highest opinion."

It will not be out of place to quote the opinion of Sir Justin Sheil, expressed by him in 1850 :—

> "It can hardly be doubtful that Karachi is destined to be the great arsenal of the Punjab and North Western India — perhaps the emporium, and even the real capital of British India".

Colonel Jacob, Acting Commissioner in Sind, in April 1856, reported to the Government of Bombay the following facts about the Port of Karachi :—

> "The Pligrims from the countries on our North West Border en route to Mecca, and other holy cities, would supply traffic to the railway and steam flotilla, and increase the intercourse already established between Kurrachi and the ports of the persian gulf."

> "From Sutlej to the Oxus, whoever wishes to communicate with any place beyond the Sea, must pass through Kurrachee. It occupies a position scarcely less favourable to commerce than that of Alexandria".

> "Kurrachee", says Thornton, "is a position of very great importance, whether regarded in a commercial, a political, or a military point of view. In a commercial point of view, it may be defined the gate of Central Asia, and is likely to become to India what Liverpool is to England".

> "It has been officially reported that accommodation exists for the reception within the harbour, at the same time, of 20 Ships of 800 tons (and any number of

smaller craft). The climate of Karachi is cool in proportion to its latitude; and under British auspices, the town must specially become a most important place"

"Kurrachee, then, is not only the natural port of Scinde, but also of the Punjab and Central Asia; and the Scinde railways which connects it with permanently deep water in the Indus at Hyderabad, is only the first link in that chain of improved communication which must at no distant period connect Peshawar, on the borders of Afghanistan, with the Sea."

Mr. James Walker L. L. D, F, R. S., was deputed by the Court of Directors of the Sind Railways to examine the surroundings of the Karachi Port and the plan of its possible developments, in the year 1857. In the course of his report Mr. Walker has stated that:-

"Karachi is capable of being made an excellent harbour and there are no very great Engineering or other physical difficulties to contend within making it such. To be the nearest point to Europe of all our Indian possessessions, is important in many points of view, but more especially with reference to the "Euphrates Valley Route", and every remark relative to the direct Communication of Karachee with Suez is equally, if not more applicable to that with Bussrah, as materially reducing the sea voyage from India. Hitherto beyond the place of the electric chain that spans the Empire, Karachee is destined, ere long, to become the chief seat of the telegraph in India".

"I have elsewhere remarked that Kurrachee is not only the port of Indus and Central Asia, but, from its geographical position and other advantages, appears destined to become, if not future metropolis of India, most certainly the second city and the European Port of that Empire".

The following remark made by Brigadier—General Jacob C. B. officiating Commissioner, in the middle of the nineteenth century is very important :-

"Every increase in facility and safety of transport will give fresh impulse to all native productions. The export of cotton, silk, wool, corn, oil seeds, saltpetre, and Indigo, Madder, and other Dyestuffs, is capable of almost indefinite extension".

The significant feature of Karachi is that it is the nearest port to Europe. The distance between Aden and the following ports is as follows :-

Karachi to Aden 1435 miles.
Bombay to Aden 1640 ,,

The following observation made on Karachi, as an Air and sea port, by Sir Montague De. P. Webb in "the Karachi Hand book and Directory" (1927—28) will greatly help the readers of this book in forming opinion about the importance of the port of Karachi.

"That Karachi will, in course of time, be the Chief Central Art Port of the British Empire has long been obvious to all students of the world's Air Route between

west and east, vide the rough, sketch map of the old world reproduced on the opposite page."

"The fact that not only English, but also French, Spanish, Danish, Portugues, American and Australian aviators, have called at Karachi recently, has attracted the attention of the whole world to the geographical and other advantages enjoyed by Sind's capital; and great developments may be expected in the near future."

"In the world of commerce and shipping, these advantages have been recognized for over half a century, i. e. from the days of Sir Charles Napier; and the history of the Province and Port has been one long struggle to convince first the Government of Bombay, then the Government of India, and lastly the Imperial authorities in Great Britian, that capital extended on the development of the harbour and its Hinterland (the latter by perennial canals and adequate Railway services), would assuredly yield the handsome of returns, not only in money, but also in every other way that a rapidly multiplying population would reasonably desire. Particulars of those development will be found in later chapters of this handbook."

"Karachi the capital of Sind, "the port of Punjab", "the coming Liverpool of India" and some day "glory of the East" (to recall Sir Charles Napier's affectionate parting words) is at present a town of about 217,000 inhabitants, located on the Fringe of Lagoon of the

Arabian Sea, on the North West Coast of India, and within twenty miles of the Frontier of Baluchistan."

Now, it is highly painful to observe that this port has been utterly neglected, on account of its being situated in an unfortunate province which has been deprived of its right of having a separate Government. The following passage, from the address presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce to Lord (then Sir George) Lloyd late Governor of Bombay demonstrates the feelings of the public on the subject :-

> In February 1919, when welcoming Your Excellency to Karachi for the first time we ventured to set forth in explicit terms the matters wherein we felt that Sind andthe Port of Karachi have been grossly neglected. Some of the matters have been the subjects of representations from this Chamber to Government for nearly a quarter of century without much result."

To sum up, Sind has a reason to complain that development of its port — the most important one in the whole India — has been neglected, which is due to the fact that Sind has lost its entity and existance because of its having been made to merge into a Presidency which is separated from it by a distance of 800 miles.

would In conclusion I like to quote the views of Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, Member Indian Legislative Assembly in this connection",

> " The present capital of the province-'the city of Karachi possesses one of the finest ports in this country, and has a great future before it. With complete autonomy in the province, we will be in a position to make an effective demand for the direct arrival of the English Mails at Karachi, which is a nearer port to Europe than Bombay. The commercial interests of the province will thus be greatly promoted. No doubt, Karachi at present does not possess the shipping facilities of Bombay, but Bombay was not built in a day. It has grown slowly to the present stature, and it is the arrival of the English Mails at Bombay that has largely contributed to the development of that port. There can be no doubt that Karachi will also make rapid strides in this direction, and will be able to beat in the near future all that Bombay

is proud of today. As a result of the Sukkur Barrage, and the various schemes of the Punjab, Karachi is destined to be one of the most important places of export in India. Further an autonomous Sind will also be able to obtain a direct route from Karachi to Delhi by Rail. This will enable this province to capture the trade of the most important parts of country".

ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS NEGLECTED.

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It has been a constant complaint of Sind that its Roads and communications have been neglected. The Sind Mohamedan Association has been every year conveying this complaint to the Governor of Bombay. Even in the last November the Sind Mahomedan Association made the following representation to the Governor of Bombay :-

"Your Excellency will, as the tour of Sind is made, see that our Province is more wretchedly served with roads than any other Province in India. We know that the natural conditions are very different from other areas,

but this does not do away with the established fact that Bombay Government have sadly neglected us in this respect. The seriousness of the situation was recognized very strongly during the ercent floods ; at a time when speedy transportation facilities were necessary, the officers and relief workers found that roads were non-existent. When the Barrage scheme comes into existence, the problem of roads will force its way to the fore."

Not only that, but the Karachi Branch of the European Chamber of Commerce has been making persistant appeals to Bombay Government for the constructions of the new Trunk oads and improving the existing ones. In the representation which the Chamber made to the Governor of Bombay it drew His Excellency's attention to the following immediate need of Sind.

(a) Better utilization of the river Indus for the irrigation of Sind.

(b) Additional and improved Railway communications between Karachi and Bikanir, Rajputana and U. P.

(c) The construction out of Provincial Revenue of Trunk Roads in Sind."

In another address the Chamber has complained that :-

"Throughout Sind, with the exception we believe of a few miles, there are no Trunk Roads maintained out of provincial revenues and it is impossible to proceed outside the Municipal limits of Karachi in any vehicle except a country cart."

This is the condition of Roads and communications which is due chiefly to the fact that Sind is the "Cinderella" of the Presidency, and of the Government of India.

EDUCATION.

The education has tremendously suffered on account of this combination. In the whole of Province there is not a single Government College. The attitude of the Bombay Government towards our Primary as well as Secondary education, has been unencouraging. A study of the statistics will show that the Mussalmans of Sind who form 3/4th of the whole population are very much in the rear, even in Primary education and no impartial investigator will come to any other conclusion than that, we have not been given our fair share of educational attention. According to the annual report of the Director of Public information, only about 3% of Mussalmans in Sind have benefitted even by Primary Education. The Auxialiary Committee on Education, ordinarily known as Hartog Committee

has depicted a painful picture of backwardness of Sind in Education. A large part of the report is devoted to the lamentations on the unfair treatment meted out to Sind in respect of Educational grants and encouragement. These are in a nut-shell some of the disadvantages and difficulties which can never be overcome until Sind is placed under a separate Government which may devote its entire attention to the betterment of this province.

IV.

PUBLIC OPINION

PUBLIC OPINION.

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There is a strong public opinion in favour of Sind separation, so much so that the people of the whole of India look forward to it anxiously. This question has achieved all India importance and no constitution worth the name will be acceptable to the people of India, until and unless the demand for separation of Sind is conceded. Almost all the responsible and representative, Public Bodies, Public men, Patriots, Politicians, and newspapers have strongly advocated this cause.

In order to give an idea of the public feelings on the subject, I would like to give below some of their resolutions and opinions in this regard.

1. The First Commissioner of Sind, after Sir Charles Napier relinquished the charge of Governorship of Sind, appears to have first of all strongly opposed the amalgamation of Sind with Bombay Presidency as will be evident from the trend in which he communicated with the Imperial Government on the subject.

2. On account of lack of education and want of public opinion this unnatural amalgamation did not create open public opposition in the beginning and it was for the first time in 1913—17 years ago—that this question engaged public attention. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai C. I. E., Member Imperial Council in his address as the Chairman Reception Committee all India

National Congress, Karachi, had referred to this subject in the following words :- "On the conquest of Sind by the British in 1843, it was administered as a separate Province with Sir Charles as its Governor. After his departure in 1847, it was annexed to the Bombay Presidency and still continues to be so, although in several matters the Commissioner in Sind unlike the Commissioner of the other Divisions, of the Presidency, has been invested with the powers of the local Government. Still the Province possesses several geographical and ethnological characteristics which give her the hall mark of a self-contained territorial unit."

3. Again, in the years 1917—18, the deputation of the Sind Provincial Conference waited on the Right Honourable late Mr. Montague the then Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford the then Viceroy of India, with a representation on behalf of the people of Sind in which they have alluded to this question in the following words, in para 10 of their representation :—

> "The memorialists, therefore venture to place before you, Sirs, their firm conviction, that if the introduction of Responsible Government in India is to have any reality for the three and a half million Indians, who have lived, for over 70 years in Sind under a more autocratic system of Administration than perhaps prevails in any other province of India,

except the Military Provinces, it is absolutely essential that, until circumstances become ripe for the elevation of Sind to the position of an Independent Province, with a duly responsible Executive Council and a Chartered High Court, the Administration of the affairs of our province, should, for the time being, be placed directly under the Governor of Bombay in Council, and all enactments and measures, which relate to the delegation of powers to the Commissioner-in-Sind, be so amended or replaced as to place the Commissioner-in-Sind, on the same footing as other Divisional Commissioners, all the powers conferred on these later being also retained by him, but no more. The Governor of Bombay should reside at Karachi during a few months of the year, and the members of the Executive Council should visit the Province more frequently than heretofore and at least one of the sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council should be held at Karachi every year."

It may be noted that in the preceding two notes they have not directly pressed for immediate separation of Sind because on one hand the public opinion was not so advanced and strong and on the other it was not the time then for the re-distribution of Provinces. They have made a brief reference to the hardships under which the Province was labouring and they have started with describing the anamoly which existed between the Bombay Presidency and the province of Sind and by demanding the divestion of the Commissioner-in-Sind of the special powers enjoyed by him under the Commissioner-in-Sind Act 1868.

4. The Indian National Congress in its 42nd Session held in the end of 1927 passed the following resolution on the subject of Sind separation:—

> "This Congress is also of opinion that such re-adjustment of Provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any Province which demands such re-constitution on linguistic bases be dealt with accordingly. This Congress is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Sind into a separate Province".

This resolution was proposed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavaya and was accepted by the followers of all Schools of thought.

5. The All India Muslim League has adopted a very strong

resolution for the Sind separation. The fact that the Muslim League has passed this resolution conclusively proves that this demand enjoys the sympathy of seven Crores of Muslim Inhabitants of India.

6. The All Parties Conference Delhi has resolved on the question thus :—

> (b) The Conference is of opinion that simultaneously with the inauguration of the new constitution a redistribution of provinces such as Andhra, Utkal, Sind, Karnatak C. P. Hindi and any other area demanding separation on a linguistic basis shall be undertaken, provided:-
>
> (i) That the separate province shall be financially self-supporting.
>
> (ii) That on the scheme of separation being laid before the people of the area concerned, with its financial aspects, the majority of the inhabitants favour the scheme and express their readiness to bear the financial responsibility of the new arrangements.

7. In 1926 when Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were in session at Delhi, the Hindu and Muslim

leaders made several meeting to confer on the question of future constitution of India. Sir Sankaran Nair (who subsequently became Chairman of the Central Simon Committee) had invited Muslim leaders to come forward with their demands about their rights and privileges in the future Indian constitution. Mr. Jinnah called a Meeting of the Muslim leaders which among other things demanded the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency. These demands received the approbation of Hindus and Mohamedans so much so that it prompted the working Committee of the Indian National Congress to decide in favour of Sind separation, which decision was subsequently confirmed in the Madras session of the All India National Congress.

8. The Nehru Committee which produced a constitution for India on behalf of the Indian people has plainly agreed to the question of Sind separation.

9. The All Parties Conference which was held at Lucknow under the Presidentship Dr. M. A. Ansari (the then President of the Indian National Congress) to consider the constitution framed by the Nehru committee unequivocably upheld the recommendation of the Committee on the subject under consideration,

10. On July 17, 1928, the prominent Hindu, Muslim, and Parsi representatives of Sind adopted a pact ordinarily known as the *Sind Hindu Muslim pact*, in which they have inserted a clause about the Sind separation which runs as under :—

(1) We hereby declare that the introduction of joint electorates and the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency should be effected simultaneously.

(5) The Province of Sind, (so constructed) shall enjoy the full measure of provincial autonomy as shall be accorded to the other Major Provinces of India, and further it shall not be attached to any other Province.

(3) As regards the feasibility of separation of Sind, from the financial point of view, we declare that we shall cut our coat according to our cloth".

This pact was signed by Hindu Muslim and Parsi representtives, among whom are to be found the following gentlemen:-

HINDUS.

Mr. Naraindas Anandjee Bechar representing the Karachi city Non-Moslem constituency on the Bombay Legislative Council, Swami Govindanand M. A., President Sind Provincial Congrass Committee, Mr. K. Punniah Editor Sind Observer, Mr. T. K. Jeswani M. A, Editor New Times and Secretary Indian

Merchants Chamber, Mr. Tarachand Municipal Councillor, Mr. Tikamdas Wadhumal Bar-at-law Municipal Councillor, Mr. Ram. B. Motwani, Mr. Rijhumal Kundansing Lahori M. A., LL. B., Chairman Municipality Larkana, Mr. Pribhdas Tolani B. A., Messrs Besant Ram & Arjandas Members Sukkur Bar, Mr. C. T. Valecha B. A., Messrs Kishindas Jhamrai, Pamandas, Ramchand, Mr. Jethanand Parsram Editor Sind Herald, Professor Jhamatmal, Mr. Lalchand Jagtiani, Mr. Vishnoo Sharma Editor Hindu Jati: and Mr. Gopaldas Lekhraj Editor Parkash,

MOSLEMS.

Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, Member Indian Legislative Assembly, Shaikh Abdul Majid President Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee, Seth Tayabali Alavi and Mr. Hatim A. Alavi Municipal Councillor Karachi, Haji Mir Mahomed Baloch Member Legislative Council Bombay, Mr. Abdul Jabar Bar-at-law Municipal Councillor, Dr. Shikh Nur Mahomed N. B. B. S; Mr. Allahbux Editor Alwahid & Kazi Abdul Qayum.

PARSIS.

Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, President, Karachi Municipality and Mr. R. K. Sidhva Municipal Councillor and Member Port Trust Karachi.

This pact received universal acceptance all over Sind. as it was framed under the auspicies of the Sind National League.

11. The Sind Mahomedan Association in its representation to the Simon Commission has remarked on the subject thus :-

"The Province of Sind has absolutely nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. The union is based neither on ethnologic, geographical linguistic. agricultural nor any other sound considerations. A mere accident that it was the army of the Bombay that conquered Sind is responsible for this unnatural arrangement. Our Province has suffered very much on this account, educationally, economically, and socially we are far behind the Presidency. Even the development of the Port of Karachi has been impeded on account of the jealousy of the Bombay harbour. Looking to these and several other circumstances, this association strongly urges that the Province of Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and given its own Executive and Legislative machinery. This is the demand of the majority of population which includes Musilmans, Parsis, Christians business people belonging to different communities and a large section of the bread minded Hindus.

> The entire Muslim India is also strongly in favour of this proposal and even the Indian National Congress has recognized the justice of this demand",

This representation was made by the most important representative Institution representing the entire Muslim Public of Sind which forms 3/4th of the entire population of Sind.

12. The All India Muslim Conference which was held at Delhi on 31st December 1928, and 1st of January 1929, under the Presidentship of His Highness Sir, Agha Sultan Md. Shah Agha Khan K. C. I. E, G. C. I. E., G.C. S. I., G. C.V, O., L.L.D., has unanimously resolved in favour of Sind separation as follows :-

> "And whereas on ethnological linguistic, geographical and Administrative grounds the Province of Sind has no affinity whatever with the rest of the Bombay Presidency and its unconditional constitution into a separate province, possessiong its own separate Legislative and Administrative machinery on the same lines as in other provinces of India is essential in the interests of its people, the Hindu minority in Sind being given adequate and effective

representation in excess of their proportion in the population, as many may be given to Mussalmans in the provinces in which the constitute a minority population".

This resolutions was moved by a premisent public man Sir Mian Md. Shafi K.C.S.I. late law member Government of India and was supported by Sir A. K. Ghaznavi, Moulana Md. Shafi Daoodi M. L. A., Dr. Sir Md. Iqbal Ph. D. L. L. D., M. L. C., Mr. Sharuf-ul-Din M. L. C., K. B., Hafiz Hidayat Hussain M. L. C. Moulvi Md. Yakoob Deputy Presiden Indian Legislative Assembly Dr. Shafaat Md. Ahmed Khan Ph. D. M. L. C. Mr. Abdul Aziz Bar-at Law, Mr. D. S. Tayebji M,L.C. Bombay, Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon M. L. A. Moulana Azad Sabhani, Sheikh Md. Sadiq Bar-at-law M. L. C. and Moulana Md. Ali.

The anxiety of these gentlemen about this question will be seen from the fact that this resolution has been concluded in the following words:—

"This Conference emphatically declares that no constitution, by whomsoever proposed or devised, will be acceptable to Indian Mussalmans unless it conforms with the principles embodied in this resolutions."

13. In November 1928 a representation was submitted to

the All Parties Convention Calcutta, on behalf of Musalmans of Sind by a very prominent Muslim representative of Sind namely Seth Haji Abdul Haroon, Member Indian Legislative Assembly, etc. The 7th clause of the representation relates to Sind separation and runs as follows :—

Clause 7.

that the Province of Sind shall be separated from the Presidency of Bombay as the majority of its people have already so desired it and that its separation shall in no case be made conditional on the results of the financial and administrative considerations as recommended in the resolution No 4 of the All Parties Conference".

Explanatory Note.

Those who are conversant with controversy on the separation of Sind know fully well that majority of the people favour its separation. The organizations of all India fame have accepted this demand and accordingly have recommended the separation of ofthe province. At first the separation was inclued in the famous Delhi-Muslim proposals. The All India Congress Committee (May 1927) and the National Congress at Madras

(December 1927) also supported this separation. Inspite of the strong recommendation of these influential bodies one fails to understand why the All Parties Conference at Luknow (vide their Resol: No. 4) have made the separation conditional. The majority of the Sind people want to make it clear that the separation should not be delayed on account of the grant of dominion status as suggested in the Nehru report and that the Nehru report should be so amended as to accept the formation of Sind into a separate province at the next meeting of the Nehruite Convention, Further that this separation should not be hinged on financial and Administrative considerations. If the separation is made conditional it would confirm the genuine fears of the Muslims who would take it as a fresh proof of the lack of statesmanshipon the part of the leaders of the major community. To conciliate the Muslims it would be better if the Members of the Nehru Report carefully consider the following resolu-

tion of the Sind Khilafat Conference at Sukkur from the 27th to 29th Oct. 1928) it runs as under :—

"Whereas the major portion of population of Sind (Muslims) is prepared to shoulder the cost of the administration of the separated province to the fullest extent of the resources of the Province and further as any deficit can be made up by the Central Government, the simultaneous separation of the province with the coming into operation of the recommendations under the Nehru Report should not be made conditional on any financial enquiry but should be made absolute".

The above Conference was attended by over two thousand delegates, and was representative in character, further in the above resolution it is significant to note that the Muslims are fully alive to the additional expenditure which may be incurred on the establishment of a separate province. Their desire for a separate province is supported by their willingness to bear

to the fullest extent of the resources of the Province the additional cost of a separate province. Another important fact which may perhaps interests the members of the Nehru Report is that the above resolution was carried unanimously in the presence of the Staunch Nehruites viz. Dr. Ansari, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulvi Habibur-Rehman of Ludhiana and others.

The majority of the people of Sind are firmly convinced that with comparatively such a large revenue of two crores of rupees and a population of 35 lacs, Sind connot only maintain its Administration but can make progress, They naturally ask, with such a large Revenue and so small a population their province cannot be conducted on efficient and ever progressive lines, when the states of Travancore and Gwalior with the respective revenues of 205 and 140 lacs, and populations of 40 and 24 lacs are are administered in an enlightened manner. I strongly support them in such a view. If

the above examples are not sufficient I further substantiate with the instances of the Punjab and Assam. These Provinces respectively have revenue of eight crores and 275 lacs & populations of 2 crores and 75 lacs and yet both these provinces are conducted in such a way that none can doubt their effieient administration. The model of Bombay administration is certainly very expensive and extravagent and a separated Sind will not be under any obligation to follow it. It is quite eleart that Sind administration cannot only be economically run but also can be conducted on efficient and progressive lines (for facts and figures in support of this view see schedule A. No.3.). Granted that Sind has deficient Budgets, the Central Gevernment should come to its aid. It should give subsidy on the same lines as it gives to the Provinces of N, W. F., Ajmer Merwar and Delhi. But the mojority of the people of Sind are strongly of opinion that their Province should not in any case be

denied the Status of a separate province nor should they be deprived of the manifold privileges which are sure to accrue to them as a result of such a separation. If on the next instalment of reforms Sind is not constituted as a separate province, I am affraid that its people will remain dissatisfied and discontented and what is important to us—the framers of India's constitution is that they will carry on their present vehement and vigorous agitation until the separation becomes an established fact".

The memorandum submitted by the All India Moslem Legislators (i. e. Members of the Council of State, Indian Legislative Assembly, & All the Provincial Legislaturess) Association contains the following passage in which the immediate separation has been demanded :-

"It also urges the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and its creation as a separate self contained province".

15. The Parsi community which is in minority much less than the Hindu community even, is entirely ly in favour

of Sind separation. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta President Karachi Municipality, who is a moving spirit among the Zooristrian community, and whose "opinion" in the words of Pandit Jawherlal Nehru President Indian National Congress (vide his letter dated June 8th 1928) "on this question is bound to carry weight with all reasonable men" has issued several booklets on this subject, and to acquaint the readers of this book with the feelings of Parsi community, I give some extracts from Mr. Jamshed's book "Separation of Sind" which will show the eagerness on their part to see Sind separated :-

> "1. Sind is a distinct province in life, habits, circumstances and dress.
>
> 2. It is also geographically distinct from Bombay.
>
> 3. With the best of sincerity, it is too far cut for Administrative purposes and after all, the Governor, the Members of the Executive Council and even the Ministers or the Members of the Council can give hardly one fifteenth of their attention to Sind.
>
> 4. Problems of Sind are so totally different from those of the Presidency that it is difficult to bring them into line.

5. Sind, with its Governor or a chief Commissioner and a Council, can and well command more attention. Questions will be answered and problems and difficulties solved and tackled on the spot. We have not to wait for months, years and generations on the strength of that beautifully worded and seemingly sympathetic answer, "the matter is under consideration of the Government".

6. We must develop Sind and the only way is to take the matters in our own hands main road to freedom is the right education of children and adults. We shall never be able to do this when joined with other parts of the Bombay Presidency.

7. I am not afraid of the finances. Sir Henry Lawrence about 5 years ago had produced certain figures to show that the Goverment spends more on Sind than what it recovers. The very same figures are not hopeless or disappointing. On the other hand, they convince me of the

certainty of our being able to manage our own finances.

8. There remains the question of capital liability on account of Sukkur Barrage. I feel it would be managed if we take it up as a loan from the Government of India at the present rate of Government interest, 4½ %, for a period of 60 years. I am sure we shall be able to manage it well, specially if the Government of India will back up our co-operative movement to guarantee a scheme of a Land Mortage Bank with a capital of Rs. five crores.

9. Separation of Sind will give us scope to chalk out our own line of salvation by way of roads, traffic and other development schemes which are essential for our province".

16. The Committee appointed by the Bombay Legislative Council to collaborate with the Royal Statutory (Simon) Commission consisted among others, of Mr. Sayed Miran Mohamed Shah, M.L.C,, B.A. LL. B. as its Member. This gentleman has devoted the whole of his " Minute of dissent " covering about 12 printed pages to the discussion of this problem in which he has conclusively proved the case for separation. It is needless to

quote the contents of his minute here, as it is available everywhere.

17. The great anxiety which prevails among the people of the province for the separation of Sind will be discernible from the fact that in every Taluka in the province, meetings are held wherein resolutions to that effect are passed in most emphatic terms. In Hyderabad Sind, a meeting of the Nawabs, Sirdars, Zamindars and leading personages of the four districts of Lower Sind (*i.e.* Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Tharparkar and Karachi) was convened on the 31st of May 1930 by Shah Sir Nawaz Bhutto, C.I.E. O.B.E., M.L.C. K.B., in which a resolutions was passed to the effect that with the inauguration of New reforms, the separation of Sind must be effected. This was followed by resolutions passed in the Meetings held for this purpose, at Kotri, Sukkur, Larkana, Karachi, Shikarpur, Kambar, Mehar, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Mirokhan and almost in every part of the Province.

V.

NO DIFFICULTY

(*IN SEPARATION*)

NO DIFFICULTY.

(In the Separation)

Is the area & the population too small for a Province?

There has never existed in the past nor does exist at present any law, constitution or convention prescribing the limits—minimum or maximum of any territory or Province in the world. There are biggest Empires like the British Empire extending from East to West ostensibly most unwiedly for efficient administration. There are kingdoms of considerably large size and small size like Russia and Nepal; there are again the biggest states like the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore and Baroda, and the smallest like Travancore, Sangli and Morvi. Each of these Empires, Kingdoms, countries and States are being administerated properly—ought we to know. If the considerations of area and population were to be deciding factor in the matter of constituting a separate Province, Assam could not have been so constituted at the time of its birth for surely it must have been, as it is now, the smallest province as compared to the other provinces in India. Sind is only a few thousand square miles smaller than Assam while Assam has got 15,000 square miles, as Waste land incapable of development. As regards population, the development of the Barrage zone (which will raise the culti-

vable area of the Province from two and a quarter million acres to nearly six million acres) will give impetus within a short compass of time, to the figure of population.

Apart from the above facts in connection with the area and population of Sind, should we not in fairness, compare and see if there exists any province within the British India smaller than Sind itself? Take for instance Coorg, North West Frontier province, Ajmere, Merwar, etc. Coorg has got only 1,582 square miles in area and has a population of only 165,833. North West Frontier has got 16,466 square miles area and 22,47,696 population. Figures for Merwar—Ajmere are not available but that province is also smaller than Sind. I am not losing sight of the fact that they being maintained from the subsidies advanced by the Central Government besides their own Revenues. Besides there are no administrative difficulties owing to their small size and their population.

Will ther not be enough work for a Governor and a Cabinet.

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It is an indisputable fact that there is considerable work to keep busy the Heads of all Departments in Sind and in some cases there is a complaint that there is so much table and outdoor work that the heads of all Departments are hardly able to cope with it, despite the fact that at present Sind is a neglected province and no new developments are undertaken. However

when the Barrage works are over the population will considerably increase and so the work of the Revenue and Public Works Departments, because then the cultivated area of the province will be raised from two and a quarter million acres *to nearly six millions acres.* Imagine the great differnce.

Moreover in the beginning when Sind is constituted into a separate autonomous province, it may not be necessary to keep more than two Ministers with a salary of 2,500 or 3,000 a month to make cabinet. The less busy the Governor and his Ministers are with routine the more they will be able to pay attention to the general good of the province (coming in direct touch with the people), although the matters of Sind are bound to grow in volume and complexity, after the inception of Barrage, so much so that they will keep the Governor as engaged as he is now.

Amalgamation of Baluchistan with Sind.

Some people are of opinion that Baluchistan should be amalgamated with Sind. There is no doubt that this suggestion does, to some extent, appeal to our mind. I wish it may be be annexed to Sind, because it would give a relief to those lacs of peple who are rotting under a despotic and extremely autocratic Government. The declaration of Martial Law in Sholapur has shocked people but the inhabitants of Baluchistan are always labouring under a lawless Law. They are being ruled by Military officers, who administer law and justice according to their whims. People have no independence of expression. No newspaper is allowed to raise its head. No attention is paid to education. People have no voice in the adminis-

tration. All officers are "Bosses" and the people their slaves. Baluchistan looks more like a Cattle-Pound than a Province under the benevolent British rule.

It is alleged that the Government of India is contributing lacs of rupees for the maintenance of Government in Baluchistan, but it is no use disguising the fact that this money is not spent on the well-being of people.. It is squandered over the "maintenance of the prestige, and dignity of officials".

Mr. Ali Mohamed H. Rashdi Editor Sind Zamindar Sukkur will be shortly publishing a book giving his experiences about Baluchistan ,where he has spent nearly four months' studying varioas problems of that country. The book describes in a pathetic language, the innumerable sufferings of Baluchistan and the feasibility of the proposal of amalgamating it with Sind. I think this book will be of great help in facilitating the scrutiny of various aspects of this question.

Personally, I feel that the amalgamation of Baluchistan with Sind will be a blessing and a relief for the suffering lacs, and will also remove the objection that Sind is too small in area and population to be a separate province. It is quite possible that from Political point of view there may be some difficulties in doing this, but on the whole I find that horrible exaggerations are being made to magnify these so-called difficulties. The inner object in their so doing is that they want to keep this "Summer Health resort" within their grip and so they always feel reluctant in restoring independence to it, which will automatically come if it becomes a part of Sind.

Apart from this, the incorporation in Sind of the province of Baluchistan will be benefitial in the following respects particularly:-

(1) That in summer when Sind becomes hot, Ziarat and Quetta will serve as the summer residences of the Governor of Sind—Baluchistan. There will be no extra expenditure on building new houses for the Governor, because the existing palatial residences of the Hon'ble the A. G. G. at both the places are as good as the Government Houses of Bombay or Mahableshwar.

(2) That when services will be provincialised and it will not be possible to shift officials, whose service becomes undesirable in Sind, to Presidency as is being done now, Baluchistan would serve as a place for dealing with undesirable and incorrigible Government servants. Sind being backward in education and awakening, it has often been noticed that some public servants occupying responsible position in Sind, indulge in corruption, and carry on regular exploitation. All efforts to improve or deal with them locally prove abortive. In that case the policy has been to shift such incorrigibles to some distant corners of the Bombay Presidency where there is no possibility of their itching palms being greased. It is in this manner that at present Sind nips this nuisance in the bud. But when the Province of Sind is limited to the existing seven districts only, and it becomes impossible to free it from the yoke of undesirable officials by pushing them to a distant place as the Presidency, a pressing need would be felt to make some special arrangement for

obviating this difficulty. I think Baluchistan would be the best place to accomodate and even improve such public servants, and hence its' amalgamation is highly desirable.

Anyhow, whether Baluchistan is amalgamated or not Sind, as it is, is bound to keep the new Sind Government busy.

UNNECESSARY EXPENSE ON A CABINET.

—:o:—

The Bombay Government has laid great stress on the point that there will be unnecessary expense on a cabinet of at least "three ministers", in the new Sind Government. I do not find any force in an argument of this nature. I think two ministers will be quite sufficient to form a cabinet in the beginning. If need be we shall keep 3, 4, or five. Mr. Jamshed N. R, Mehta, President Karachi Munipality has rightly said that :-

> "Three or four thousand a month on a Minister is not an item to be afraid of, when a small Municipality can pay anything between 500 to to 900 rupees to its' chief officers such an item is not worth considering. If my business, expands, I keep more men. If there is no need, I do not. Few thousands here and there make no diffence whatsoever".

It is quite needless to dwell upon this so-called "administrative difficulty" at any length, because it looks on the very face of it simply imaginary and ridiculous. If Sind spends a few thousands of rupees per month on it's cabinet, it will comparatively derive a far greater advantage from it. If Khairpur State with an annual income of Rs. 25 lakhs is able to keep an Executive Council, costing 6 to 9 thousands rupees per mensem. (Allowances & Travelling expenses extra) I see no reason why Sind will not be able to maintain a cabinet—of 2 or 3 ministers.

Will Sind be deprived of the control and advice of a large number of Experts.

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It is alleged that Sind will in case of its separation from Bombay Presidency lose the control and advice of a large number of experts like the Director of Public Instruction, the Inspector General of Police, the Chief Engineer for Irrigation, etc.

The fact is that Sind would not mourn much if by achieving independence it forgoes the control and advice of the Bombay, Heads of Departments. There is no conspicious blessing which may have been bestowed upon Sind by these "experts". Firstly we are sceptic about their usefulness, in as much as the problems of our country are concerned, and secondly hardly 1/15th of their attention goes to our affairs, as they have to think of the entire presidency and not of Sind exclusively. They are residing in Bombay or Mahableshewar — at a distance of nearly a thousand

miles from Sind, and there is a little hope that they are able to understand the divergent and complicated problems of our province. They do, indeed visit Sind, but for how many days during a year? At the most one week! This "*one week*" goes on interviews dinners and entertainments and they hardly take the trouble to go out in mofussil and see for themselves the wretched condition of the country. I think that great persian poet Hafiz has rightly represented our feelings on this subject, in the following maxim :—

مرا ز خیر تو امید نیست شر مرسان

(I expect no favour at your hands but pray dont harm me).

Apart from this I feel that Sind will not lose the control and advice of experts when Sind is separated, as alleged by the Government of Bombay. Sind has already got separate heads of Departments namely the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Educational Inspector, Assistant Commissioner income tax, Conservator of Forests, Director of Health, Superintendent salt and excise. They are as competent as the Bombay Bosses. They are in no way inferior to the Bombay Votaries. With due respect to the latter, we could get a better, more concentrated and efficient administration by having our own men. Under the existing system of administration of the Bombay Presidency, more attention cannot be paid, notwithstanding all the sincerety of the Governor or the heads of various departments. It is a fact that it takes weeks and months to get decisions of the Bombay Government on very small matters. "We dont want" in the words of Mr. Mehta "a red tap a thousand miles long. If at all we must

have it,let us have it in our midst so that we can pull it the other way at our own satisfaction.',

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LACK OF BRAINS.

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Certain friends, who are opposed to separation on account of some personal motives, are making insinuation that there is lack of brains in Sind and that the people of this province would not be able to carry on administration with efficiency. Statements such as these indicate lack of faith in the capability of the people of Sind. But they are not well-grounded. Sind has produced Shah Abdul Lateef—the Great Poet, and many others who rose to the rank of the Prime Ministers to the Moghul Emperors. Even at present Sind has got many brilliant brains literary men, Politicians and Legislators. Why they have not shined out is due to the reason that Sind is in bondage. Slaves can not compete with those who have been born and brought up in independent and advanced atmosphere. Moreover there is lack of education in Sind and consequently some very brilliant brains are going without education. There is very little chance for the people of this province to make name because somehow they are under a Military rule.

Nevertheless, Sind, as it is, contains quite a large number of competent men who would run the administration most satisfactorily. I would like to quote here the opinion of Mr. P.R. Cadell C. S. I. I. C. S., Late Chief Secretary Government of Bombay and

late Commissioner in Sind which he has expressed in his recent article on Sind Separation, published in the *Asiatic Review* and reproduced in the "Daily Gazette" of July 15th, 1930 :-

> "As regards local ability, there need be no apprehension. The Hindus of Sind, if comparatively few in number, possess a high degree of intelligence sufficient in any circumstances to safeguard their position; nor are the Sindhi Mohamedans, or the Baluchi immigrants, in any way lacking in brain power or administrative capacity".

I think this is sufficient evidence to remove all apprehensions about the alleged incapability of Sindhis to run the administration.

It is a wicked lie that there is lack of brains and learned men in Sind. Despite the fact that, as expressed by the Hortog Committee, Sind has not received fair treatment at the hands of the Bombay Government in the matters educational, a small town as that of Shikarpur contains as many as one hundred Moslem graduates, leaving Hindus aside. Although I dislike making personal references, yet it is no use disguising the fact that it is Sind which is proud of having produced men like Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and the Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah General Member Government of Bombay.

Why not "Equal Privilege"?

The Bombay Simon Committee, has emphasized that :-

> "If Sind were a separate province, it could not, at such an early stage, expect an equal privilege, and it would, therefore, inevitatly be denied the advantages of any further step forward which Bombay may secure".

This argument is obviously extremely fallacious. I think I should, instead of making any other comment, quote the repudiatory remarks made by a member of the same committee—Sayed M. M. Shah :-

> "I regret to remark that it is a very illiberal and narrow view taken of the rights of the people. It strikes at the very root of the principle of self-determination to the people of India involved in the education of 1917. It also, I am afraid, recommends a Policy of discriminating differentiation between province and province in India so far as their right to self-Government is concerned. Why Sind can not claim "equal privilege" is not expressly explained.

Apart from injustice I see no logic in the above statement. Sind has to the common knowlege of all, remained as a part and parcel of the Bombay Presidency since about 1847 A. D. Since its connection with the Presidency it has been enjoying the Political status and privileges conferred on the latter. The people of Sind have as much participated in the legislation of the Presidency and have, therefore, as much training in the art of lagislation as the people of the Presidency. Old as well as new reforms have been worked by Sindhis as much as the people of the rest of the Presidency. How is it just or even logically sound that those very people who have enjoyed equal rights and privileges with their colleagues in the Presidency should be denied equal status simply because they want to develop separately. Why should one component part of a body—Politic be considered inferior to the rest of the body? Every Province including Assam is demanding Provincial Autonomy. If others get, Sind will surely get. If others

do not get Sind will also have to wait. In the circumstances there is no reason to preclude Sind from getting the privileges to be conferred upon the other provinces. This argument advanced against Sind could logically be applied to a province like the N. W. Frontier Province and British Baluchistan which have never had a training in the field of self-Government, but could it, in all fairness, be applied to Sind (on separation) when it has as much experience behind it as the Presidency proper. Apart from the indisputable right of Sind to an equal status with the rest of the Bombay Presidency, I for my part consider it preferable for Sind to get separation and be content with the present system of Government for some time, rather than to consent to remain as a slave of the Presidency for ever. I agree with Mr. Jamshed Mehta, when he says in his pamphlet "separation of Sind":—

"If Bombey becomes autonomous and Sind does not after all it can be at the most for 5 years. These 5

years will pass away as a stage of transition and what is 5 years in the history of a nation "?

The above quoted remarks of Sayed Miran Mahamed Shah are literally true, and it is unwise to give this simple thing so much significance that it should become an stumbling block in the separation.

The apprehensions of the Hindus.

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Some Hindus, very few in number of course, are opposing the separation. They are actuated be communal feelings and have adopted "Dog in the Manger" Policy. Those who are aware of the conditions prevailing in India, will easily see through this move of our friends, who, fortunately happen to be very few in number. It is really unfortunate that the contagious disease of communal Jaundice has affected some very learned men who are prepared to sacrifise their country for the sake of a few loaves and fishes. They do not look to the interests of the country and thereby they are doing infinite harm to the progress and well-being of Sind and India. That those communalists who oppose the separations are being looked to with contempt by the soberminded Hindu gentlemen, will be evident from the following remarks made by Pandit Jawherlal Nehru President Indian National Congress in the course of a letter addressed by him to Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta President Karachi Municipality dated June 8th, 1928 :-

"I entirely agree with you that a mess has been made about the question of making Sind a separate province. It was obviously a matter for dispassionate consideration and should have been decided largely in accordance with the wishes of the people of Sind. But it has now become not only an All India question and one affecting Hindu—Moslem relations but one of those questions which give rise to so much passion that it is impossible to consider them calmly. This is very unfortunate but I do not see how we can shelve the matter now. It has to be faced whatever the consequences. Perhaps you are aware that only a year or so ago the leaders of the Maha Sabha were entirely agreeable to the separation. As for as Congress men were concerned they have been committed to it for the last seven years. *But now it is not a question of logic or reason for most persons.* As it is not possible for us to shelve it the only other course open is for such of us as can consider it with some measure of equanimity to study the question and give their opinion".

Our Hindu friends like Prof. Chablani are opposing the separation by bringing in financial and such other groundless bogies. When the majority of the inhabitants of Sind, namely Mussalmans who form $\frac{3}{4}$th of the entire population and also the majority of Hindus, is quite ready to bear any additional expenditure that may be in curred in consequence of separation, why should these few communalists be afraid of it ?

From a cursory perusal of the preceding chapter (" Public opinion") every one would come to know that all the responsible Hindu institutions, the Indian National Congress with its Hindu President, the Nehru Committee with Pandit Motilal as its chairman, the Sind Hindu league (having within its fold almost all the representative Hindus of Sind,) have unequivocably accepted the separation. Even in their individual capacity almost all the prominent Hindu gentlemen are in favour of separation. Not only that but they are carrying on regular propaganda and are making efforts with utmost enthusiasm.

If the minorities have any apprehension about some impending calamity after Sind is constituted into a separate province, the Parsi community should be, I think, more afraid of it which numerically is much less than the Hindus in Sind, but yet it is more anxious for the separation than the Moslems or Hindus. Personally I feel that it is highly in the interests of the Sindh Hindus that the province should be separated, because they are obviously great loosers in the existing amalgamation. If you take into consideration the present strength of the Sind Hindus in the Bombay Legislative Council you would find that the whole bulk of the Hindu population is represented by three members only ! If Sind is separated they will get more repre-

sentation and will have adequate voice in the Government.

The Hindus of Sind are far more advanced in every sphere of life, than the Moslems. The trade is monopolised by them. Most of the Government offices have been captured by them. Educationally they are more advanced than Mussalmans. Legal profession is entirely in this hands. All the Municipalities are under their thumb. Not only that but even 40% lands have been usurped by them. If Sind is separated their strength is bound to increase by leaps and bounds, and there need be no apprehension whatsoever. When Sind is separated, the roads and communication would greatly increase and so it will give a considerable impetus to the trade in Sind which is entirely in the hands of Hindus.

Hindus are feeling apprehensive that the separation of Sind would add to the number of provinces in which Mussalmans are in majority. But I can not understand in what way the Moslem majority could harm them. I don't think, so long as British rule exists, there will be any hand to hand fight between Hindu and Moslem Provinces. If Hindus dream of some Civil war, in which one province may wage war with another province, then of course, they can have some justification to say that Sind should not be separated because it would add to the strength of Moslem provinces and come in their way when Hindu provinces raise arms against them. But such vicious plans must be frustrated and if that is the only object under lying their opposition, I think no heed need be paid to what they say or suggest. I have heard some Hindus tellings that if Sind is separated it may some time join with other Moslem Provinces

in inviting the onslaught of Afghans and thus establishing Moslem rule. This is a most childish and ridiculous notion. Firstly, the separation does not mean independence outside the British sovereignity.The separated Sind would have as much independence as the present Punjab There Mussalmans are in a majority; the Legislative Council is under the influence of Moslems, the Province is on the border of Afghanistan, much nearer than Sind, but has it within living memory ever made any truce with Afghans and helped them in marching over India? Anyone who knows the constitution of the Indian Government can easily understand that the Military is not under the control of Provincial Government and the foreign department is an Imperial subject. The local Councils are controlling educational, Municipal Agricultural, Revenue, Excise andJudicial affairs. Now it is possible that Sind if separated would lead an Army consisting of only Administrative Officers, Municipal Engineers, Sanitary Inspectors, Excise Sowars, Agricultural experts, Revenue Collectors, Public Prosecutors, and join Afghanistan against India? Whether Sind is separated or it continues to remain with Bombay it shall not have a single æroplane, gun, or sword to be used against India or Hindus, in conjunction with Afghanistan. We are lock, stock and barrel, within the grip of Government which is second to none in power, and so long as the present state of affairs continues it is childish to dream of these silly things.

Anyhow I must repeat that all the soberminded and representative Hindus of Sind and India are openly in favour of separation and that those few gentlemen who are opposed to it are inspired by highly deplorable motives which must never be encouraged.

VI.

THE "FINANCE" BOGEY

THE "FINANCE" BOGEY.

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1. First of all, I would like to make it clear that, in the words of Dr. Ambedkar M. A. Ph. D:, D. Sc., *I do not attach importance to the financial difficulties, because they alone can not be decisive, despite the fact that in the case of Sind financial difficulties can most easily be removed.* The anti-separationists have taken undue advantage of the fact that the Government of Bombay, which is not willing to forego the fertile province of Sind, has not yet scrutinised the financial side of the question, and it is in consequence of this that the Hindu economists, who are inwardly opposed to it on account of some other considerations—pointed out in the preceding chapter, are making a row in the name of "Finance". They are manipulating figure tounnerve the separationists.

2. Despite the fact that the Simon Commission had clearly promised to depute some expert to prepare a budget for Sind, neither the Commission nor the Bombay Government have appointed any unbiassed and disinterested person to go through the financial aspect and find the solution of this problem. So long as it is not done we have reason to hold that Sind is self-supporting and can very well stand on it's own legs.

3. The great injustice which has been done to us is that separate Budget is not drawn for Sind. The figures on the side of income or expenditure have been mixed up with those of the rest of the Presidency and therefore it is very difficult to under-

stand the real position. This creats a heavy doubt in favour of separation and we must have the benefit of it.

4. In fairness, the decision about the financial position of Sind ought not to be based on the materials supplied by the Government of Bombay. If their figures and statements are to be believed as "Gospel Truth" it will be like delivering judgement on the uncorroborated statement of defendants only.

5, Let us now discuss the financial position of Sind, as it is today, and whether when separated Sind can be self-supporting. I give below the figures for the years 1922—23, 1923—24 and 1924—25. The figures for these three years are the ones supplied by the Government in reply to interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council :-

Revenue receipts in Lakhs.				Expenditure in Lakhs			
Receipts Heads.	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	Expenditure Heads.	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25
1 Land Revenue	83.5	72.1	62.1	1 Revenue	40.1	39.2	13.8
2 Exise	35.5	40.3	29.1	2 Excise	1.3	1,3	1.9
3 Stamps	19.4	20.2	17.8	3 Stamps	0.9	0.8	0.7
4 Forest	6.2	6.3	6.9	4 Forest	3.5	3.6	4.1
5 Registration	1.6	1.5	1.5	5 Registration	1.0	0.9	0.9
6 Scheduled Taxes	...	0.2	0.6	6 Irrigation works for which capital accounts are kept.	12.9	16 2	21.5
7 Irrigation Works for capital accounts are kept (Net receipts after deducting				7 Miscellanous irrigation Expenditure	23.1	13.5	23-1

working expenses)	36.5	39.3	39.2
8 Works for which capital accounts are kept.	0.5	0.1	0.1
9 Interest Civil Administration.	3.6	2.7	1.8
10 Administion of Justice,	2.1	1.9	1.8
11 Jails and Convict settlement.	0.8	1,0	1.2
12 Education	1.0	1.0	1.5
13 Police,	0.3	0,2	0.4
14 Medical	0.4	0.4	0.3
15 Public Health	0.1	0.1	0.2
16 Agriculture including veterinary co-operation.	0.4	0.7	0.7
17 Miscellanous department.	...	0.1	0.5
18 Civil works	0.9	0.7	0.7
19 Miscellanous	2.2	3.2	3.6
TOTAL.	195.0	192.0	180.7

8 Civil administration General administration	20.7	19.6	44.8
9 Administration of Justice,	9.6	10.0	11.5
10 Jails and convict settlement	5.9	5.2	5.2
11 Police	36.1	35.1	36.1
12 Ports and Pilotage	0.1	0.1	0.3
13 Education	23.0	26.6	23.8
14 Medical	4.6	5.3	5.3
15 Public Health:	3.5	2.9	2.9
16 Agriculture including veterinary, Co-operation	3.3	3.3	3.4
17 Civil Works.	10.4	6.5	8.0
18 Miscellanous dept.	0.3	0.3	0.3
19 Superanuation allowances and pensions	6.1	6.9	7.1
20 Stationary and Printing	1.3	0.9	1.0
21 Miscelanous	1.3	4.0	5.2
	209.0	202.2	221.5

Now out of various items of expenditure, items No. 6, 7, and 17 can not be classed as ordinary expenditure. Items No. 6 & 17 must wholly go out for they relate to works Civil and Irrigational. Items No. 7 miscellaneous irrigation expenditure does not tell us what portion of it is spent on capital works. It is certain that some portion of it is spent on capital works, which in Sind are productive. In the absence of any definite informa-

tion in these figures it will be safe and right to deduct 50% from this item on this account. Therefore after deducting these amounts the right figures for the annual expenditure will be Rs, 174.1, Rs. 172.7 and Rs. 180.4 lakhs for the three years 1922-23. 1923-24 and 1924-25 respectively. The average revenue and expenditure for these three years works out to Rs 189.2 and Rs. 175.7 lakhs respectively that is to say Sind shows an average annual surplus of Rs. 13.5 lakhs.

6. We have so far received figures from two sources namely the Secretary Finance Department and Professor Chablani. The latter has made horrible exaggerations and has swelled figures to such an extent that it is absurd to waste time on considering them. According to the Secretary Finance Department, Government of Bombay. the ordinary small deficit which separated Sind has to face is estimated to be Rs. 50 lacs out of which 25 lacs constitute deficit from ordinary Revenue and expenditure and the remaining 25 lacs constitute share of public debt and interest thereon. If we dispassionately examine the first 25 lacs we shall be able to see that it does contain a portion of capital expenditure and interest which ought to, have been included in the head of capital liability and shown as public debt paid by Sind. The statements supplied by Bombay Government are full of descrepancies and it is difficult to believe them. Nevertheless we can make up the deficit, if it actually occurs, by adopting the following measures :—

(a) **Economy.** The Bombay Government is the most costliest one (excepting Burma) in comparison to the other Provincial Governments, as will be evident

from statement (A) on the opposite page. When Sind is separated we would reduce it to the level of Behar and Orrisa or at the most Bengal.

(b) **Retrenchment.** It is an established fact that the Bombay Government is an extravagent one, and when Sind is separated we shall make retrenchment and curtail the expenditure considerably. The "Axe of retrenchment" could be applied to many departments which have gone fat without rendering services commensurate with the expenditure incurred on them. For instance the Forest department. The annual income to Government from Forests of Sind is only 7.1 lacs, while the expenditure is 4.1 lacs i. e. more than half the income. We shall easily curtail the expenditure by doing away with5 all the Range Forest Officers along with their staff. We would, if possible, amalgamate some Forest divisions which have lighter work. The intermediaries will be removed from all departments. So far as Police department is concerned the posts of "Inspectors of Police "must be abolished. The Divisional Officers can very well do both the duties. Another convinient depariment for economy is the General Department. The table of expenditure shows that the expenditure on this department has swelled from 14.3 to 44.5 lacs a year. We should not look at this expenditure as irreducible minimum.

Besides, reasonable reducation may be made in the salaries and allowances which are now given to

STATEMENT (A) SHOWING EXPENDITURE PER HEAD.

NAME.	Population	Area.	No. of Districts.	Current revenue	Current expenditure.	Expenditure per head about.
Ajmere Mewar	4,20,000	2,711	2	Not available.	Not available,	
Assam	67,00,000	53,015	12	2,66,05,000	2,81,63,000	Rs. 4/-
Bengal	4,60,00,000	76,843	28	12,45,43,000	11,10,79,000	,, 2/8
Behar & Orissa	3,94,00,000	83,161	21	7,78,26,000	6,00,45,000	,, 1/8
Bombay	2,62,00,000	123,621	32	15,50,69,000	16,01,51,000	,, 6/8
Burma	1,25,00,000	233,707	41	9,31,28,000	9,50,92,500	,, 7/8
C. P. & Berar	1,57,00,000	99,876	22	5,63,76,000	5,88 36,463	,, 4/-
Madras	4,43,00,000	142,260	24	16,54,92,000	15,16,60,000	,, 3/8
N. W. Province	50,00,000	13,418	5	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.
Punjab & Delhi	2,50,00,000	100,439	29	11,12,92,000	12,52,14,000	Rs. 5/-
Sind	32,70,000	47,000	7			

officials in Sind.

(c) **Increase in the Revenue.** According to the figures given by Meston Committee the average income of the various departmants is increasing every year as follows:-

Revenue	4 %
Excise	13 %
General stamps	16 %

The figures of Revenue supplied by Government of Bombay show that in the years 1920—21 the income was Rs. 185.4 lacs but in the succeeding year it rose to 210.5—an increase of Rs. 76 lacs. If the increase continues on this ratio every year, Sind would surely be able not only to make up the so-called deficit but it would finance even new davelopment schemes.

Besides, with the opening of Barrage the income would increase under the following heads :-

Increase in pupulation
Increase in the number of villages
Increase in land Revenue
Increase in the sale of stamps owing to sale of land.
Increase in the income from registration
Increase in Excise owing to the increase in population.

Direct profit may not accrue on the lands within the Barrage Zone immediately on the working of the Barrage in 1932, yet after 12th or 13th year from the working of the Barrage, there will be some

direct income to Government from land Revenue as is clear from the evidence of Mr. Harrison, the Chief Engineer Lloyd Barrage, before the Simon Commission. The period of revision of land settlement in Sind (which is 20 years) is also drawing near. It might begin from 1932. Land assessment is bound to increase as it inevitably does, in consequence of the Revenue Inquiry. According to the remarks of Mr. Musto: "Sind will become one of the richest and most important provinces in India, supplying grain and cotton to it's poor neighbours and to all parts of the world". Since the cultivable area is estimated to raise from, approximately, three to nearly seven million acres, the land revenue, and income from registeration, stamps, etc. is bound to increase considerably.

(d) **Taxation.** In lieu of the manifold advantages which Sind would derive by its ceasing to be the proverbial Milk cow of Bombay or India, we would be quite willing to bear any additional taxation that may be imposed for making up the deficit. "The generel prosperity", as described by Mr. Musto in his booklet "the Sukkur Barrage and New Sind Canals" "is bound to prepare people to bear any super-tax which may be imposed by their own Government for the purpose of nation—building departments".

(e) **Subsidies from the Indian Government.** If a backward province desires to advance and there is room for development—it is the duty of Government of India to help it in the struggle for progress to a

reasonably considerable extent. Besides, the primary and important help which Sind will require from the Government of India will be the readjustment of its share of public debt; and reorganisation of Capital Accounts for Sind on liberal basis. For instance if the Government of India permits Sind to borrow the capital as well as the recurring interest on the same for such period till the works for which the money is borrowed have actually finished and yielded returns, Sind will find itselsef in no difficulty to pay off it's debts easily and run it's Government without any trouble. 'Another method of concession which Government of India should do to Sind to pay off it's debts will be to extend the period of payment. If the above concessions are made by the Government of India, which they should, it will be seen from resurvey of the statements supplied to us that the annual deficit of 50 lacs will be reduced to a few lacs only.

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Additional cost of New Province.

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7. Even under Dominion Status Sind being a very much smaller province shall have a Governor whose salary should be less than the Assam Governor. I am opposed to the fat Salaries of Governors and Civilians. In the case of constituting Sind into a separate Province the Governor of Sind should not get more than what the Commissioner gets at present. Sind even today is for all practical purposes of administration a separate province. It

has its own High Court. So it will not have to incur any extra cost for head-quarter establishment. At the most for every department we may have an additional personal assistant to the official in charge with one or two additional clerks. It will be no use opening a secretariate on a grand scale. After the establishment of Provincial autonomy the services will be provincialised and the rates of the salaries reduced to the present provincial service. There are already four Assistants working under the Commissioner in Sind as his secretaries—the first being an I. C. S. man while the remaining three are men of Provincial grade. Assam has got only four Secretaries including the Secretary for the Council. They are no doubt men of Civil Service, but for the sake of economy, till funds permit, the present Assistants to the Commissioner in Sind can conviniently be converted into Secretaries for various departments. The clerical establishment is already sufficient and there will be no need of increasing it. So far as the cabinet is concerned I think, for the present, a cabinet consisting of two minister, each drawing not more than Rs. 2000/- per mensem, would be quite sufficient. The President of the Legislative Council should also get the same salary. Those gentlemen who hold these affairs are never in need of salary and in most of the cases their pay goes to charity. It would matter little if they show some leniency to Sind in the begining. The Sind Legislative Council should consist of, not more than 50 members. At present the members who are traversing a long journey to Bombay draw exorbitant allowances and travelling expenses. When the Sind Council holds it sessions at Karachi, the expenditure would be very little and I think the members would also quite willingly agree to

their allowances being curtailed to some reasonable extent. Economy shall have to be maintained in every department, and the representatives of the people are bound to help the Government even at the risk of their own pockets. If in lieu of a little sacrifice we get out of the bondage, the bargain is a cheap one.

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Liabilities and Barrage Expenses.

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8. In considering the question of the partition of the assets and liabilities between Sind and the rest of the Presidency, we would liken them to the case of two brothers, in similar circumstances. Whatever the annual income they may have had in the previous years, and whichever way they have spent it we would assume that both the brothers have had a fair share of the benefits they could get out of the current expenditure. But when it comes to debts incurred, we would like to know for whose benefit the money was used, and whether that party has been paying interest on each sum.

In excluding all Barrage works, to which we shall revert later, we see from the Irrigation Administration report for 1924—25 that the total capital outlay on all irrigation works in Sind to end of that year was as follows :-

Productive works in Operation.	Rs 3,62,27,791
„ under construction.	1,22,057
Unproductive works in operation and construction.	67,65,270
Total	4,51,51,118

It will be seen from the interest accounts of the respective works that Sind has been paying interest on all sums borrowed for the purpose, year after year, and *in addition to the interest* Sind has to its accumulated profit of Rs. 6,23,97,268 an accumulated loss of Rs. 29,06,975, giving a net profit of Rs. 5,94,90,293. Sind has thus paid into the coffers of the Central and Provincial Governments from time to time a sum of Rs. 594 lakhs, and interest upto date in place of Rs. 451 lakhs which she has borrowed. These profits extend over a period of half a century, and if they had been given out on an ordinary interest Sind would have easily built up a balance of over 12 crores in her hand with which to pay a major portion of the expenditure on the Sukkur Barrage. All these sums have been used by the Central and the Provincial Governments, and even assuming that it is perhaps too late to ask for a refund of this sum, It would not be doing Sind too great a favour if she asked to be relieved of having to pay interest in future years, not to speak of the Sinking Fund as proposed by Prof. Chablani, the true friend of the Sind Zamindars.

10. As regards the Lloyd Barrage, we can only state that if this work had been taken in hand 20 years ago, as it should have been, the expenditure on it would have been well nigh wiped out by this time. But whether that may be, Sind has now put her hand to it, and she will be honour bound to accept full responsibility for its success or failure. Prof. Chablani advocates hanging on to the neck of Bombay to evade payment, presumably on the plea that Presidency has thrust Barrage on Sind. If that is so, the Presidency might as well retort that the Sind members are not less responsible for thrusting the Bombay

Development on them. Both parties cannot evade their responsibilities in presenting an elephant to each other, and each of them must take a chance as to whether it proves a black or a white one. It is no use trying to escape from that liability, whether seperation or no. It may be mentioned in this connection that with effect from 1st April 1925 the arrangements for administrating the advance to be made by the Central to Provincial Governments have been systematized and a Central Fund called "Provincial Loan Fund" has been established from which all advances are now made by the Government of India. According to this arrangement the Provincial Governments can borrow sums of money according to definite principles by which the arrangements for interest and repaymnnt will be regulated. The Provincial Governments naturally desire to spend large sums on various schemes of development and expension of their useful activities, and the Government of India, regarding this as an inevitable & healthy result of the Reforms, wish to help them to fulfil their desire. The fact is that the capital for the Barrage is provided by the Government of India as a loan to the Bombay Government and interest is also being added on the capital cost. When Sind is separated it will administer the management of the repayment of the loan instead of the Bombay Government. The Sukkur Barrage is the greatest irrigation scheme in the world, and it is hoped Sind will get every pie of the cost on the scheme on the land sales. For the time being the Government of India can trust the Sind Government as much as the Bombay Government.

11. Borrowed Funds spent on development like Forests and excise are a feature, and whatever one may have to say

about their being right or wrong. The actual amount spent in Sind can be separately found very easily, and Sind ought to bear that responsibility. We cannot see how Sind can escape this even if she remains with the Presidency.

12. As regards the contribution to the Central Government they are now a matter of history, and we need not spend any more thought on it. This however raises another subject of vital importance to Sind. Prof. Chablani himself mentions how unfair Meston Settlement has been to Bombay, rendered more unfair by the wiping out of the Provincial Contributions. Bombay Presidency has commerce as its greatest asset, and that taking away of Customs and Income Tax entirely deprives it of the only gaining source of Revenue. Even half the income tax share of the Bombay amounted to two crores in 1920—21, and this state cannot last long. The Meston Settlement is bound to be revised on a more equitable basis & if Bombay's claim of share of income tax is recognised, Sind, with Karachi—a town with even greater possibilities—is bound to profit, *not lose* in the coming days.

13. There remains the question of Famine Insurance. It is true that the Government of India insist upon the Bombay Presidency for laying a certain sum of money every year. But considering the great difference of Sind and the rest of the Presidency, it does not follow that they would insist on the sums to be kept apart in Sind. Crops in Sind do not depend upon rain but on irrigation. The Indus does not get dried up. If any Famine Insurance was required for Sind at all, the Loyd Barrage serves the purpose. If Sind can afford by all means let

her lay some more money for a rainy day, as a protection fro n the floods, but that could hardly be called an urgent necessity.

14. A dispassionate investigatian into the financial position of Sind is sure to lead all unbiassed persons to the conclusion that Sind can very well stand on it's own legs.

VII.

NOW OR NEVER

NOW OR NEVER.

Now that I have briefly discussed most of the important aspects of the question of the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency, I would earnestly appeal to the British Government and the British Parliament that the separation, should be effected immediately.

It is absolutely unfair to shunt off this question from pillar to post and refer it to various so-called committees. Each day's delay adds to the intensity of the sufferings of Sind. While every other province is advancing on the path of progress, our country is going backward, to the great anxiety of its inhabitants. The people of Sind will no longer live on hopes. The separation must come now or never. The cup of our suffering has come to a brim. We shall not rest contented until Sind is constituted into a separate province. I have made out a convincing case for the separation and the justice should not now be denied to us.

(THE END)

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